



Early Hittite literature and the emergence of the annalistic style

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Roadmap

- ▶ Introduction
- ▶ The smoke of the sacrifice in Hittite and Indo-European
- ▶ Cress and devastation in Hittite and the ancient Near East
- ▶ Inheritance, borrowing, and the development of Achaemenid royal inscriptions



The emergence of the annalistic style in Hittite



<http://www.hittitemonuments.com/bogazkoy>

- How did the language and style of Hittite royal annals emerge and develop?



Why Hittite?

- Hittite annals and the royal inscriptions of Achaemenid kings emerge under similar conditions.

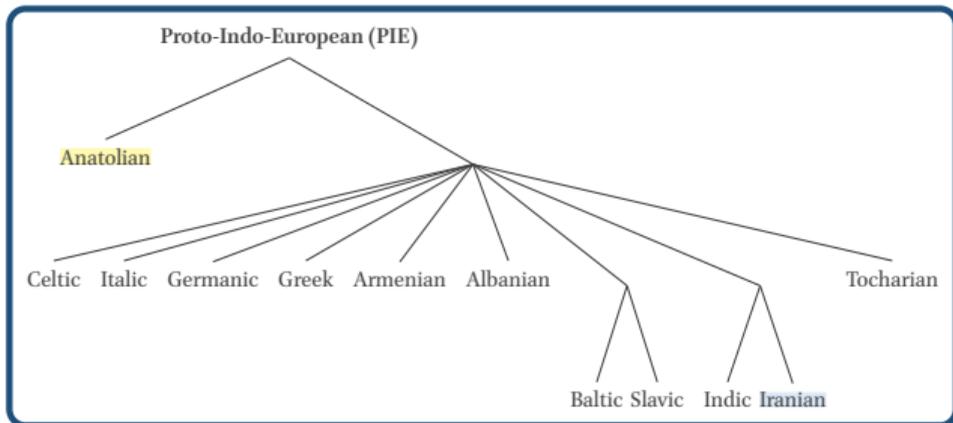


Behistun inscription of Darius I



Why Hittite?

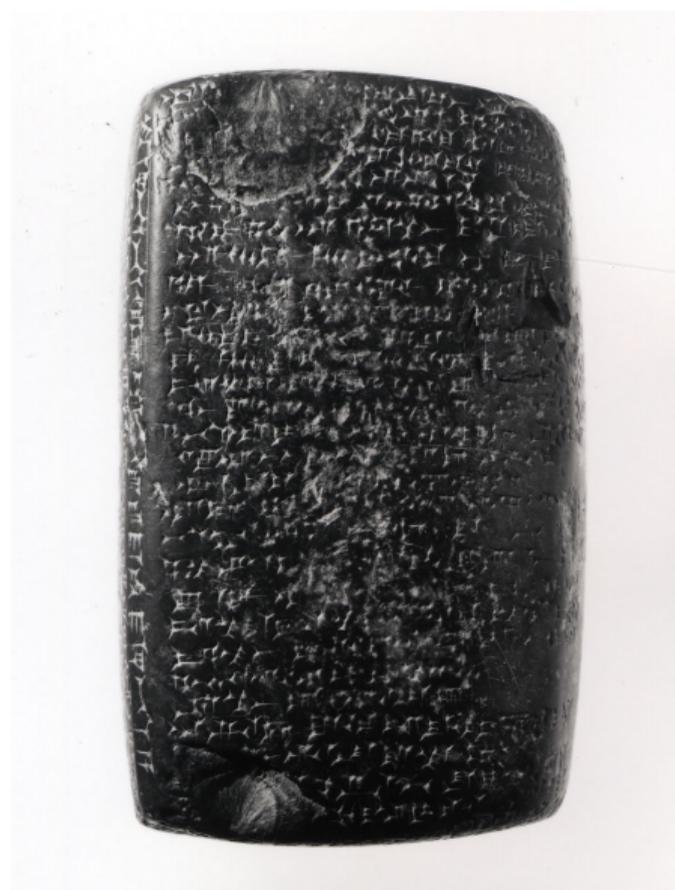
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 - Hittite and Old Persian have a common linguistic source.
 - Develop in the context of neighboring Near Eastern annalistic traditions with common themes and purpose (i.e., royal propaganda).



Royal inscription of Adad-Nārārī (BM 115687)



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- ⇒ Development of the Achaemenid inscriptions may be informed by Hittite (§4).¹



Royal inscription of Adad-Nārārī (BM 115687)

¹See Bickermann & Tadmor 1978, Harmatta 1982: 86–7, Schmitt 1991: 22, Skjaervø 1999, Shayegan 2012: 133–42, i.a.



The annalistic style in (early) Hittite

- Two early Hittite texts are composed in the “annalistic style” (Hoffner 1980: 293–4) — i.e., have characteristic features of ANNALS, which relate events on a year-by-year basis:
 - (i) “Anitta-text” (CTH 1)¹



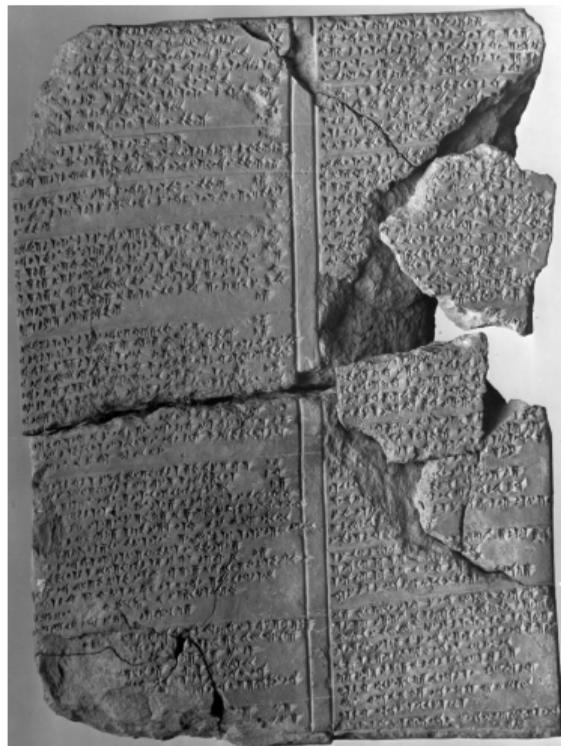
Anitta-text (Bo 9058 / KUB 3.22; **CTH 1.B**)

¹edd. Neu 1974; Carruba 2003



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 - (ii) “Acts of Hattušili I” (CTH 4)¹



Acts of Hattušili I (202/p / KBo 10.2; CTH 4.II.A)

¹edd. Imparati & Saporetti 1965, Martino 2003)



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- But they also clearly differ from later Hittite (“true”) annals — esp. those of Muršili II (CTH 61) — both in style and in substance.¹



Acts of Ḫattušili I (202/p / KBo 10.2; CTH 4.II.A)

¹See Otten 1951: 39, 44, Kammenhuber 1958: 148, Cancik 1979: 49–50, Hoffner 1980, i.a.



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- Among these differences — two collocations uniquely attested in CTH 1 and 4.



Acts of Hattušili I (202/p / KBo 10.2; CTH 4.II.A)

¹See Otten 1951: 39, 44, Kammenhuber 1958: 148, Cancik 1979: 49–50, Hoffner 1980, i.a.



The diachrony of the annalistic style in Hittite

- The episodes in which these two unique expressions occur offer a window into the emergence and development of the “annalistic style” in Hittite:

Q1: What are the sources for their language and style?

Q2: Why doesn't this language recur in later annalistic texts despite their similarities in structure and in content?



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- Today's focus is **Q1**.
- **Claim** — historical sources of the annalistic style in Hittite must include both:
 - (i) Inherited phraseology.
 - (ii) Phraseology borrowed from the ancient Near East.



Roadmap

- ▶ Introduction
- ▶ The smoke of the sacrifice in Hittite and Indo-European
 - On the “Acts of Ḫattušili I”
 - “I showed smoke to the Storm-god of heaven”
 - The “Acts” and the language of native Hittite ritual practice
- ▶ Cress and devastation in Hittite and the ancient Near East
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The “Acts of Ḫattušili I”

- “Acts of Hattušili I” (CTH 4) relates the (mostly military) achievements of the early Hittite king Hattušili I (r. ca. 1650–1620 BCE) over a span of five years.
 - Hattušili I was responsible for establishing capital of Hittite kingdom at Ḫattuša.



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 - Hittite is a native composition (i.e., not a translation).



Acts of Ḫattušili I (202/p / KBo 10.2; CTH 4.II.A)

¹Originally in Hittite: Goetze 1962: 26–7, Melchert 1978: 3–5, i.a. In Akkadian: Otten 1958: 84, Güterbock 1964: 108, Kammenhuber 1969: 265, Bryce 2018, i.a.



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- Bilingual, transmitted in Hittite and Akkadian versions, neither complete.
 - Hittite is a native composition (i.e., not a translation).
- Language of Hittite version is contemporaneous with Hattušili I, but text is preserved only in manuscripts from centuries later.
 - i.e., New Script copies of an Old Hittite text



Acts of Ḫattušili I (202/p / KBo 10.2; CTH 4.II.A)



“I showed smoke to the Storm-god of heaven”

- (1) KBo 10.2+ iii 37–41 (OH/NS; CTH 4 — “Acts of Ḫattušili I”):
 LUGAL.GAL *tabarnaš*^{URU} [(Ḫ)aššuwan]^{URU} Ḫaḫḫann=*a ḫarni*[*nkun*] *n=aš IZI-az kattan*
 [*lukkun*] *tuhḫwain=ma nepi* [*šaš*^d*U-ni tekkuššanun*]

(Sargon crossed [the Euphrates river]... yet he did not burn down Ḫaḫḫa; he did not show smoke to the Storm-god of heaven.) But I, the great king, the *tabarna*, destroyed the cities of Ḫaššuwa and Ḫaḫḫa. I burned them down with fire. [I showed] smoke [to the Storm-god of hea]ven.

- Ḫattušili I boasts that his military exploits outstrip even those of Sargon of Akkad.
- The collocation “**showed smoke**” in (1) — securely restored from the Akkadian version (*qutra...ukallim*) — is unique in Hittite.¹
 - Even the notion of presenting the smoke of an enemy city to the gods as a sacrificial offering is unparalleled in annalistic texts or elsewhere in the corpus.

¹For the restoration see Martino 2003: 75, following Melchert 1978: 21.



The “Acts” and the language of Hittite ritual

(2) KBo 15.7: 9 (CTH 420 — “Fragments of substitution-rituals”):

[t]uḫḫuwain=ma=wa kēl š[A] GUD.MAḫ dUTU AN-E auš! [du]

Let the Sun-god of heaven see the smoke of this (sacrificial) bull!

- But — a similar expression with tuḫḫuw(a)i- ‘smoke’ appears in the Hittite ritual in (2).



The “Acts” and the language of Hittite ritual

(3) Indo-European cognates of Hitt. *tuhḫuw(a)i-* ‘smoke’:¹

- a. Lith. *dūmai* ‘smoke’
- b. OCS *dymŭ* ‘smoke’
- c. Ved. *dhūmá-* ‘smoke’
- d. Lat. *fūmus* ‘smoke’, *suf-fiō* ‘fumigate’
- e. Gk. *thúos* ‘burnt offering’

- But — a similar expression with *tuhḫuw(a)i-* ‘smoke’ appears in the Hittite ritual in (2).
- This ritual language may even be (partially) inherited into Hittite.
 - Cognates of Hitt. *tuhḫuw(a)i-* in other ancient Indo-European languages — e.g., (3) — likewise may have sacrificial connotations or are even (3e) specialized in this sense.

¹See Vaan 2008: 249, Smoczyński 2018: 262, *LIV*²: 158, Vine 2021, 2022, i.a.



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- **Proposal** — **this collocation**:
 - Reflects ritual language (ultimately) inherited from Indo-European.
 - In a inspired moment of linguistic creativity, it was transposed onto the content of annals (i.e., military exploits).



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- ▶ Cress and devastation in Hittite and the ancient Near East
 - On the “Anitta-text”
 - “I sowed cress in its place”
 - Ritual consecration and the sowing of cress in Hittite
 - Sowing cress in the ancient Near East
 - Sowing cress as Near Eastern borrowing in Hittite
- ▶ Inheritance, borrowing, and the development of Achaemenid royal inscriptions



The “Anitta-text”

- The “Anitta-text” (CTH 1) marks the beginning of Hittite historiography, relating the accomplishments of a Great King Anitta.
 - Anitta forged a unified kingdom in central Anatolia in the mid-18th c. BCE, i.e., a century before the rise of the Hittite Old Kingdom in approximately the same region.



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- But — the text itself asserts it is (partially) a transcript of a lost historical inscription, which Anitta had posted on the gates of his capital at Neša (KBo 3.22 obv. 33–5).



“Dagger” of Anitta
(Museum of Anatolian Civilizations, Ankara)



The “Anitta-text”

- Thus a significant chronological gap between Anitta’s reign and the oldest written records of text.



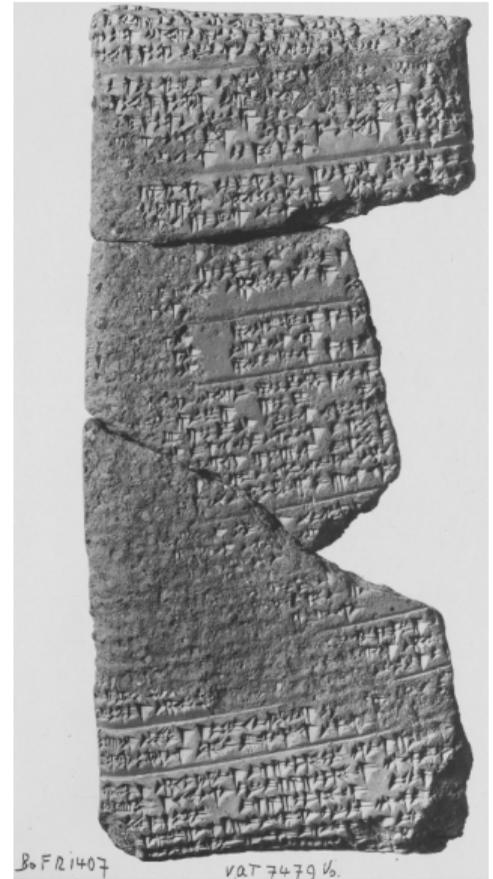
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- This gap has given rise to much debate about how the text reached its extant form.¹
 - When it was first written down in Hittite?
 - Was it originally composed in another language?

¹For differing assessments see Güterbock 1938: 142–3, Hoffner 1980: 291–3, Hout 2009a, 2009: 94–5, 2020: 27–33, 36–7, Archi 2015, Wilhelmi 2016, i.a.; on when the Hittites began to write Hittite see Hout 2009a, 2020 and Klinger 1998, 2022 for contrasting views.



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- Linguistically, no reason to doubt text was composed in Hittite at a very early period.¹



Anitta-text (VAT 7479 / KBo 3.22; CTH 1.A)

¹Likewise Neu 1974: 132–5, Hoffner 1980: 292.



“I sowed cress in its place”

(4) KBo 3.22 rev. 48–51 (OS; CTH 1 — “Anitta-text”):

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LUGAL-uš kišar[i] nu ^{URU}Ḫattušan āppa ašāš[i] n=an nepišaš ^dIŠKUR-aš ḥazziye[ttu]*

At night I seized it (= Ḫattuša) by force, (and) in its place [I] sowed cress. Whoever should become king after me and resettle Ḫattuša, may the Storm-god of Heaven smite him.

- Episode in (4) is much-cited, probably best known for the irony of Anitta’s curse.
 - Having conquered and destroyed Ḫattuša, Anitta issues a prohibition against future resettlement.
 - Less than a century later Ḫattuša reemerges as the capital of the Hittite kingdom and site of archives in which Anitta’s words were preserved.



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- The expression accompanying the curse is virtually unique in Hittite.



“I sowed cress in its place”

(5) KBo 10.2 i 34–37 (OH/NS; CTH 4 — “Acts of Hattušili I”):

nu=mu LÚ.MEŠ^{URU} Ulma MÈ-ya menahḫanda 2-šu wer¹ n=aš 2-šu ḫullīyanun nu KUR^{URU} Ulman ḫarninkun nu=šši=kan pedi=šši [ZÀ.AḪ.L]I^{SAR} šunniyanun

The men of Ulma came against me in battle twice and twice I defeated them. I destroyed the land of Ulma and in its place I sowed [cre]ss.

- A variant of this expression occurs once more in the “Acts” — i.e., (5).



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- But it never again recurs in Hittite annalistic texts or elsewhere.



How to consecrate an enemy city in Hittite

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- Distribution of this expression presents a puzzle.
- Context in (4) links the sowing of weeds to Anitta’s resettlement ban, which is part of a Hittite custom of consecrating the ruins of an enemy city to a deity.¹
 - Site is dedicated to cultic activity and rendered out of bounds for human inhabitation or other profane usage.

¹See Goetze 1933: 234, Melchert 1978: 10 Hutter-Braunsar 1989, Roszkowa-Mutschler 1992, i.a.



How to consecrate an enemy city in Hittite

(6) KUB 19.37 ii 13–19 (NH; CTH 61.II — “Extensive Annals of Muršili II”):

[]^{URU} *Timmuḫalan* ^{URU} *Tiyaššiltan* [(^{URU} *Kar*)] *aššuwann=a arḫa warnunun [nu=m]u*
^{URU} *Timmuḫalaš kuit kappilalliš ēšta* [] *arpūwan AŠRU nu=kán* ^{URU} *Timmuḫalan*
 [A-NA^d] U EN=YA *šippandaḫḫun n=an šuppiyaḫḫun [nu=šš]i ZAG.MEŠ-uš teḫḫun*
n=an=za=an DUMU AMILUTI [Ū]L kuiški ešari

I burned down the cities of Timmuḫala, Tiyaššita, and Karaššuwa. Since Timmuḫala was inimical to me [and] (it is) an unfavorable place, I consecrated Timmuḫala [to] the Storm-god, my lord, and I made it sacrosanct. I imposed borders on [i]t, so that [n]o person will (re)settle it.

- But — later texts describe this custom in detail without mentioning the **sowing of cress**.
 - Consecration of Timmuḫala, e.g., is described in detail in “Annals of Muršili II”, i.e., (6).
 - Text of the ritual performed during these consecrations is also preserved in CTH 423.



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- **Proposal** — the distribution of **this collocation** may owe in part to its source:
 - It is a literary borrowing into Hittite.
 - It originated in the ancient Near East as part of a similar consecration practice.



Sowing cress in Mesopotamia

(7) *RIMA* I, A.0.76.3, 49–51:

URU *irrida* u URU.DIDLI *ša ḫalši* URU *irridi akšud ašrup aqpur* u *kudimme eli=šunu*
az[ru]

I conquered, burnt, and destroyed the city Irridu and the cities within the district of Irridu and *sow[ed] salty plants over them.*

- Reports of *sowing cress* — often in combination with salt — over the ruins of a conquered city find ample parallels in ancient Mesopotamia and the Levant.
- Earliest attestation is in a royal inscription of the Assyrian king Adad-Nārārī I (r. 1295–1264 BCE), where it occurs twice, e.g., in (7).
 - *kudimmu* is the Assyrian equivalent of Babylonian *saḫlû*, which refers to (a type of) cress.¹
 - The destruction of Irridu seems to have been complete and permanent.²

¹See Stol 1983–4: 29–30.

²See Kessler 1980.



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- Attested once more in an inscription Shalmaneser I (r. 1263–1234 BCE).



Sowing cress in Mesopotamia

(8) *RINAP* VI, Asb. 9 v 55–6:

malak ITI 25 UD.MEŠ *nagē* KUR.ELAM.MA.KI *ušaḥrib* MUN.MEŠ Ú.*saḥlē usappiḥa*
EDIN-*u=šši*

On a march of one month (and) twenty-five days, I devastated the districts of the land of Elam (and) scattered salt (and) cress over it.

- Sowing of cress then occurs multiple times in the royal inscriptions of Ashurbanipal (r. 668–631 BCE) — e.g., in (8) — where:
 - *kudimmu* ‘cress’ is replaced by *saḥlu* ‘id.’
 - Plant is paired with *ṭābtu*/MUN(.MEŠ) ‘salt’



Sowing cress in the Levant

(9) Sefire I.A.36 (KAI 222; Fitzmyer 1967: 46–7):

wyxr' bhn hdd mlḥ šḥlyn

May Hadad sow in them (viz., his cities) salt and weeds, (and may it not be mentioned [again])!

- Same pairing is found in (9), an Aramaic inscription from the mid-8th c. BCE which contains the text of a treaty between two rulers of minor kingdoms near Aleppo.
 - Aram. *šḥlyn* — translated ‘weeds’ in (9) — is probably related to Akk. *saḥlu*.



Sowing cress in the Levant

(10) Judges 9:45 (Coogan et al. 2010: 374):

wʾbymlk nll̄m bʿyr kl hywm wylkd ʾt hʿyr wʾt hʿm ʾšr bh hrg wyṯṯ ʾt hʿyr wyzrʿh mlḥ

Abimelech fought against the city all that day; he took the city, and killed the people that were in it; and he razed the city and sowed it with salt.

- Pairing of salt and cress in Aramaic and Assyrian bridges the gap to famous Old Testament episode in (10) in which Shechem is destroyed and sowed with salt alone.



Sowing cress in the Levant

(10) Judges 9:45 (Coogan et al. 2010: 374):

wʾbymlk nll̄m bʾyr kl hywm wylkd ʾt hʾyr wʾt hʾm ʾšr bh hrg wytš ʾt hʾyr wyzrʿh mlḥ

Abimelech fought against the city all that day; he took the city, and killed the people that were in it; and he razed the city **and sowed it with salt.**

- Pairing of salt and cress in Aramaic and Assyrian bridges the gap to famous Old Testament episode in (10) in which Shechem is destroyed and **sowed with salt** alone.
- These three usages reflect a custom like the Hittites' per Gevirtz (1963: 60):
“[S]owing or strewing a devastated city with salt or cress ... constituted a means of purifying the site as an act of, or as one in preparation for, its consecration”



3 Cress and devastation in Hittite and the ancient Near East

Sowing cress as a borrowing in Hittite



- Upshots of assuming the cress-sowing collocation was **borrowed** into Hittite:
 - Explains why it is more firmly embedded in ancient Mesopotamia and the Levant.
 - Explains why it never appears in any other Indo-European tradition, at least in antiquity.



3 Cress and devastation in Hittite and the ancient Near East

Sowing cress as a borrowing in Hittite



- But — is there a plausible mechanism for borrowing?
 - All extra-Anatolian attestations of cress-sowing post-date Anitta and Hattušili I by centuries.



Sowing cress as a borrowing in Hittite

(11) KBo 3.22+ obv. 59–63 (OS; CTH 1 — “Anitta-text”):

nu mātaḥḥun nu [(ḥūwar)naḥḥun] šaniya šiwat

[(2 UR.MAḤ 70 ŠAḤ.ḤI.A 60 ŠAḤ GIŠ-ŠI)] 120 AZ.ḤI.A LŪ

[PÌR (IG.TUR LŪ UR.MAḤ.ḤI.A LŪ DÀRA.MAŠ)] LŪ DÀRA ULU [.T(UR)]

Nēš[(a URU=YA udaḥḥun)]

Then I made a vow and [I went] hunting. In a single day I brought to my city Neša 2 lions, 70 pigs, 60 wild boar, (and) 120 (other) beasts: [leo]pards, lions, ibexes, deer, (and) [...].

- Signs in the “Anitta-text” and “Acts” that their authors were familiar with — and even interested — in Assyrian historiography in some form.
 - Hattušili I’s comparison with Sargon shows an awareness of specific details of Akkadian king’s campaign (see (1) above).
 - Stylistic and substantive features characteristic of later Assyrian annals surface in these early Hittite annalistic texts alone, e.g., (animal) similes, (11) hunting scenes (cf. Goetze 1957: 92).



Sowing cress as a borrowing in Hittite

(7) *RIMA I*, A.0.76.3, 49–51:

URU *irrida* u URU.DIDLI *ša ḫalši* URU *irridi akšud ašrup aqgur* u *kudimme eli=šunu*
az[ru]

I conquered, burnt, and destroyed the city Irridu and the cities within the district of Irridu and *sow[ed] salty plants over them.*

• **Proposal** — for transmission:

- When Anitta learned about the historical exploits of Akkadian kings these were related in an embryonic form of (7) the language of the later Assyrian annalistic tradition.¹
 - “[T]rue [A]ssyrian annals” (Grayson 1987: 4) may begin only with Tiglath-Pileser I (r. 1114–1076 BCE), but “(proto-)annalistic” features go back as far as Šāmšī-Adad I (r. 1808–1776 BCE) per Tadmor (1981: 13–33).

¹Perhaps in the milieu of Old Assyrian trading colony (*kārum*) at Neša/Kaneš.



Sowing cress as a borrowing in Hittite

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• **Proposal** — for transmission:

- When Anitta learned about the historical exploits of Akkadian kings these were related in an embryonic form of (7) the language of the later Assyrian annalistic tradition.
- He encountered the **expression “sowed cress”** in a familiar context — i.e., as part of the shared custom of consecrating enemy cities — but it had no real-world correlate in Hittite practice.
 - As evident from the fate of Ḫattuša, rebuilt within a generation of Anitta’s curse.¹

¹Thus Beal 2003: 24–5 (cf. Neve 1984: 89, Schachner & Krüger 2019: 207).



Sowing cress as a borrowing in Hittite

(4) KBo 3.22 rev. 48–51 (OS; CTH 1 — “Anitta-text”):

š=an išpandi nakkit dāḥḥun pēdi=šši=ma ZÀ.AḤ.LI-an anie[nun] kuiš ammel āppan
LUGAL-uš kišar[i] nu ^{URU}Ḫattušan āppa ašāš[i] n=an nepišaš ^dIŠKUR-aš ḫazziye[ttu]

At night I seized it by force, (and) in its place [I] sowed cress. Whoever should become king after me and resettle Ḫattuša, may the Storm-god of Heaven smite him.

• **Proposal** — for transmission:

- When Anitta learned about the historical exploits of Akkadian kings these were related in an embryonic form of (7) the language of the later Assyrian annalistic tradition.
- He encountered the expression “sowed cress” in a familiar context — i.e., as part of the shared custom of consecrating enemy cities — but it had no real-world correlate in Hittite practice.
- Anitta thus understood “sowed cress” as a purely literary trope, and finding it rhetorically attractive, incorporated into (4) his own account of destroying/consecrating cities.
 - Ḫattušili I’s usage probably alludes to Anitta’s.



Destruction of Carthage

- (12) “[E]verything that was still standing was levelled; Scipio pronounced a curse over the remains, a plough was drawn over the site and salt sown in the furrow, to signify that it was to remain uninhabited and barren for ever.”
- A modern parallel — the popular story of the Romans’ destruction of Carthage in 146 BCE, as related, e.g., by Warmington (1960: 208) in (12).
 - Per Ridley (1986) sowing of salt has no basis in ancient Roman or Greek sources; it was rather added to the story in 20th c. CE, likely by a scholar familiar with — and inspired by — the biblical account of the destruction of Shechem (in (10) above).



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- ⇒ Rhetorical “salience” of this trope is timeless.



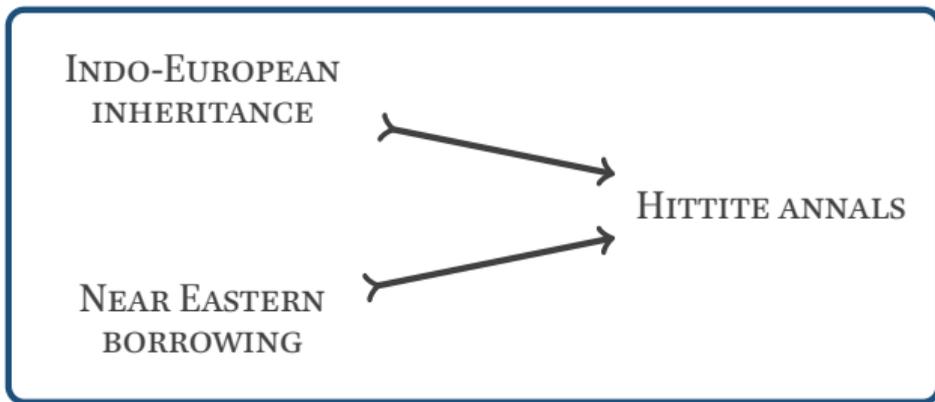
Roadmap

- ▶ Introduction
- ▶ The smoke of the sacrifice in Hittite and Indo-European
- ▶ Cress and devastation in Hittite and the ancient Near East
- ▶ Inheritance, borrowing, and the development of Achaemenid royal inscriptions



Sources of the annalistic style in Hittite

(13)

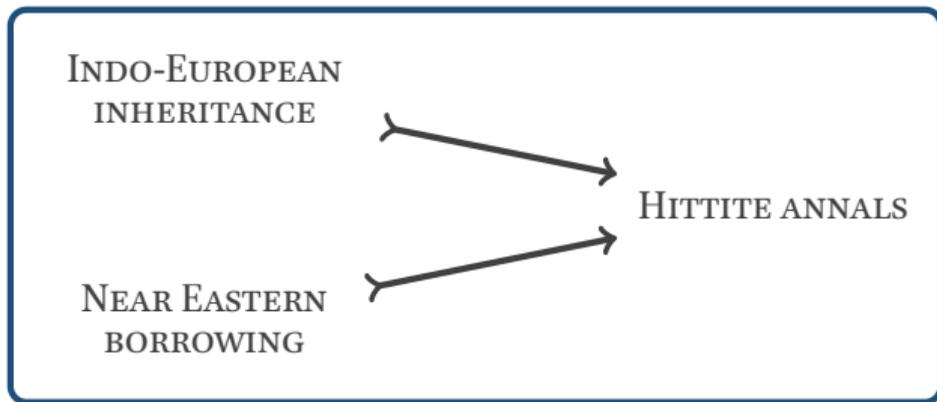


- In the earliest Hittite annalistic texts the sources for this new genre can thus be observed:
 - Inherited phraseology, transformed for its new context.
 - Phraseology borrowed from a closely related Near Eastern genre.



Sources of the annalistic style in Hittite

(13)



- In the earliest Hittite annalistic texts the sources for this new genre can thus be observed:
 - Inherited phraseology, transformed for its new context.
 - Phraseology borrowed from a closely related Near Eastern genre.
- **How is the development of Achaemenid royal inscriptions informed by Hittite?**



Achaemenid inscriptions and the annalistic style

(14) Victory over numerous opponents “in a single year”:

a. *DB 4.3–7* (Schmitt 1991: 68; cf. Skjaervø 1999: 14):

*θāti Dārayavauš xšāyaθiya: ima taya adam akunavam vašnā Auramazdāha
hamahyāyā θarda, pasāva yaθā xšāyaθiya abavam: navadaθā hamaranā
akunavam, vašnā Auramazdāha adamšiš ajanam utā navā xšāyaθiyā agrbāyam*

(Thus) says Darius, the king: “This is what I did by the greatness of Ahuramazda in one and the same year after I became king. I made 19 battles. By the greatness of Ahuramazda I smashed them, and I seized 9 kings.”

• Early Achaemenid inscriptions have been claimed to incorporate both:¹

– Adaptations of Near Eastern phraseology — e.g., OP (14a)

¹Bickermann & Tadmor 1978, Harmatta 1982: 86–7, Schmitt 1991: 22, Skjaervø 1999, Shayegan 2012: 133–42, i.a.



Achaemenid inscriptions and the annalistic style

(14) Victory over numerous opponents “in a single year”:

- b. *RIME IV, E4.3.7.3: 39–46* (Samsu-Iluna, r. 1749–1712 BCE; cf. Bickermann & Tadmor 1978: 240):
inušu naphar mat šumerim u akkadim ša izeruninni in libbu šattim ištiāt adi 8-šu in
GIŠ.TUKUL lu aduk

At that time I defeated with weapons, eight times in the course of one year, the totality of the land of Sumer and Akkad which had become hostile against me.

- Early Achaemenid inscriptions have been claimed to incorporate both:
 - Adaptations of Near Eastern phraseology — e.g., OP (14a) on model of, e.g., (14b) .

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Achaemenid inscriptions and the annalistic style

(14) Victory over numerous opponents “in a single year”:

- c. *RIMA III*, A.O.104.7 (Adad-Nārārī III, r. 810–783 BCE; cf. Bickermann & Tadmor 1978: 240):
GIŠ.GIGIR.MEŠ ÉRIN.ḪI.A.MEŠ KARAŠ.MEŠ *lu adki ana KUR ḫatte DU-ka lu aqbi*
ina i-et MU.AN.NA KUR.MAR.TU.KI KUR ḫatte ana siḫirtiša

I mustered my chariotry, troops, (and) armed forces (and) ordered the march to the land Ḫatti. **In one year** I subdued the entire lands Amurru (and) Ḫatti.

- Early Achaemenid inscriptions have been claimed to incorporate both:
 - Adaptations of **Near Eastern phraseology** — e.g., OP (14a) on model of, e.g., (14b) or (14c).

¹Bickermann & Tadmor 1978, Harmatta 1982: 86–7, Schmitt 1991: 22, Skjaervø 1999, Shayegan 2012: 133–42, i.a.



Achaemenid inscriptions and the annalistic style

(15) “Protect [us / our land] from evil!”

a. *DNa* 51–3 (Schmitt 2009: 104; cf. Skjaervø 1999: 30–1):

mām Auramazdā pātu hacā gastā utāmai viθam utā imām dahyāum

May Ahuramazdā protect me from evil, as well as this house and his land.

- Early Achaemenid inscriptions have been claimed to incorporate both:
 - Adaptations of Near Eastern phraseology — e.g., OP (14a) on model of, e.g., (14b) or (14c).
 - Inherited (Indo-)Iranian ritual phraseology — e.g., OP (15a)

¹Bickermann & Tadmor 1978, Harmatta 1982: 86–7, Schmitt 1991: 22, Skjaervø 1999, Shayegan 2012: 133–42, i.a.



Achaemenid inscriptions and the annalistic style

(15) “Protect [us / our land] from evil!”

b. Y. 58.2 (cf. Skjaervø 1999: 31):

taṣ nā nāmā nipātū pairī daēuuāatcā tbaēšarhaṣ mašiiāatca.

Let this reverence protect us from both the evil demon and man!

- Early Achaemenid inscriptions have been claimed to incorporate both:
 - Adaptations of Near Eastern phraseology — e.g., OP (14a) on model of, e.g., (14b) or (14c).
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Achaemenid inscriptions and the annalistic style

(15) “Protect [us / our land] from evil!”

c. *RV X.42.11ab* (Jamison & Brereton 2014: 1446; cf. Skjaervø 1999: 30–1):

bṛhaspátir naḥ pári pātu paścád
utóttarasmād ádharād aghāyóḥ

Let (Indra), lord of the formulation, protect us all around, from behind and from above and from below, from him who wishes ill.

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 - Adaptations of Near Eastern phraseology — e.g., OP (14a) on model of, e.g., (14b) or (14c).
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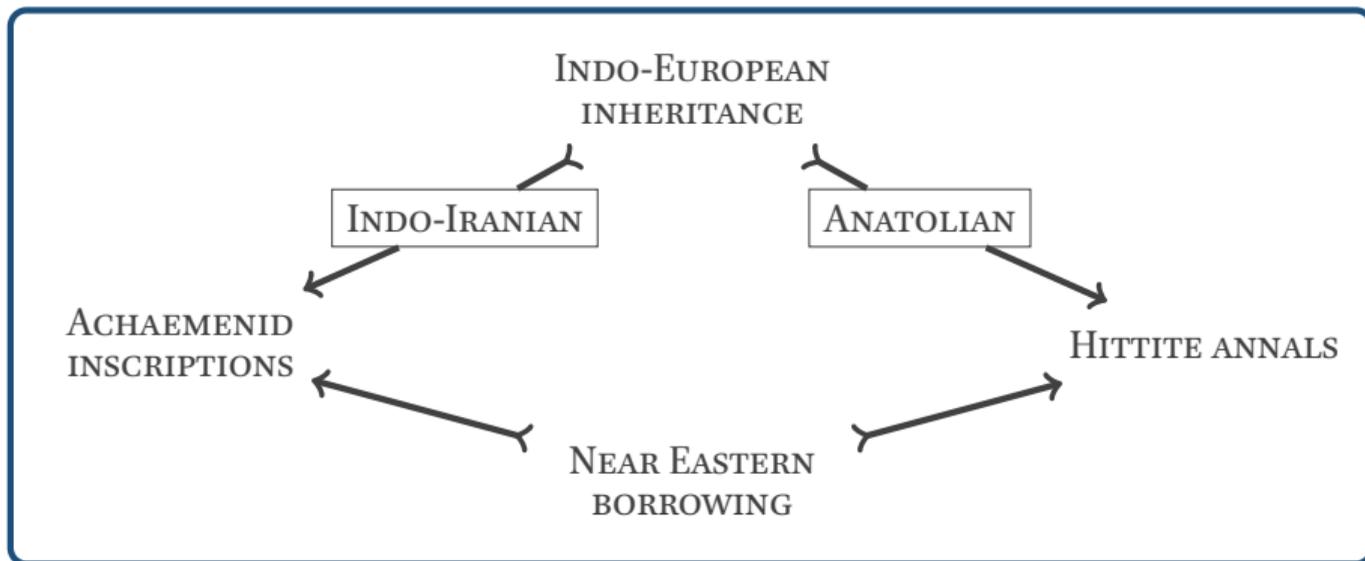
Let (Indra), lord of the formulation, protect us all around, from behind
and from above and from below, from him who wishes ill.

- Alleged instances must be evaluated individually.
- But Hittite suggests that **both borrowing and inheritance are expected.**



Parallel developments in Hittite and Old Persian

(16)



⇒ Hittite would provide a parallel for the development of the earliest Achaemenid literature.



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